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is not clear, at any rate to the present reviewer, just what it indicates. Finally, there is a decided infelicity in the half-separate, half-united condition of Vols. II. and III. They have one preface, one pagination, one bibliographical appendix, one index; and the phrase "this volume" in the preface and elsewhere in Vol. II. (II. 253) is used in a sense that includes both. Yet they have separate title-pages and are bound as two volumes. If there has been hesitation between two plans of arrangement, it is to be hoped that hereafter the unit will be the volume and not the calendar year; to make the latter the unit for indexing, it is certain, would cause much trouble to the multitude of students who will hereafter use this splendid work.

The Civil Service and the Patronage. By CARL RUSSELL FISH, Assistant Professor of American History in the University of Wisconsin. [Harvard Historical Studies, Vol. XI.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1905. Pp. xi, 280.)

THE recent work of Mr. Fish is the most important and valuable contribution that has been made to the history of the civil service in this country. The function of the historian is not simply to enumerate facts in a chronological order, but through these facts to interpret the spirit of an age. Any trained student with an accurate mind and sufficient time can count the number of removals from office made by all the presidents from Washington to Roosevelt, but it is the work of the historian, as differentiated from that of the investigator, to show through these removals the development of a complex system and to associate these removals with other events apparently unconnected with them. It is in this that the chief merit of Mr. Fish's work consists. The book, moreover, is interesting, and it is therefore a welcome illustration of the principle urged by a growing number of historians that a history may be thoroughly scientific and yet not be so dull that "it can be read only by the author and the proof-reader."

The book falls naturally into four parts: the first deals with the history of appointments and removals down to the administration of President Jackson, the second treats of the genesis of the spoils system, the third part considers the struggle between the spoils system and its foes, while the fourth is a frank exposition of the difficulties inherent in any mechanical system of selecting officers.

The first part contains little in effect that is new. Additional facts have been gleaned in regard to well-known cases of removal; the number of removals in every administration prior to that of President Jackson is shown to be greater than has generally been thought, while it is also made clear that more of these removals were apparently made for political reasons than had been supposed to be the case. Yet while the investigation of all of these points has given a broader basis for conclusions, it is a question whether it has really altered the conclusions previously drawn in regard to the early period. The one disputed question of the period has been whether President Jefferson introduced

the spoils system or not,—his opponents have maintained that he did, his supporters that he did not. Mr. Fish squares the circle by deciding that he technically introduced the spoils system, but that the introduction did no harm at that time (p. 51).

The most valuable part of the book is the second section, dealing with the genesis of the spoils system. This is a genuine contribution to the history of the subject. Mr. Fish shows very clearly that the principle of rotation in elective offices had been in force in the legislative and in the executive departments of all the Northern and the Western states almost from the first colonial settlements and that the custom had everywhere been justified as one necessary in educating the public in the business of government, as well as in protecting the people from possible usurpations of power on the part of office-holders. Thus the theory and the practice of rotation in elective office were generally familiar and it was but a natural step to transfer both, first from the state to the national government and then from elective to appointive offices. President Jackson therefore found a soil well prepared for the introduction of the spoils system into national politics,—had it been otherwise, the evil would not so quickly have grown to gigantic size.

In discussing the struggle between the spoils system and its foes, Mr. Fish finds that prior to the plan for genuine reform inaugurated by Mr. Jenckes, the struggle had in reality been less against the spoils system itself than a struggle between the President and the Senate for the control of the spoils. The President was restive under the senatorial control exercised in the confirmation of nominations, while the Senate was jealous of the exclusive right of initiating appointments given the President by the Constitution. Thus the matter practically stood when the battle-field was transferred to the House through the introduction of the Jenckes Bill in 1865. That the measure finally became a law in 1883 was perhaps due less to genuine interest in reform *per se* than to a growing appreciation of the necessity of conducting government business by business methods.

The fourth part, dealing with the period of civil service reform, is much less full than are the other divisions of the work. Its chief value lies in its candid statements of the difficulties inherent in any system of appointment through competitive examination. Many adherents of the present system will, however, differ with Mr. Fish in regard to some of his conclusions,—that the permanent civil service will not be able to draw in many men fitted for the highest posts (p. 234), and other similar statements. The business of the government has shared in the general business tendency of the age towards organization on a large scale and the leadership of the many by the few. The day of the small business is for the time being eclipsed and able young men accept that fact both in private business and in government service.

The special contribution that the work makes to the literature of the subject is that the author goes behind the face of the returns and shows that the spoils system flourished in congenial soil, while the

reform has been in large part due to the perfection of business methods in the country at large and the consequent demand for the application of the same principles to the conduct of affairs of government.

The place that civil service reform has come to occupy in our political system is indicated by the wealth of material bearing on the subject. The selected, classified and annotated bibliography fills thirteen pages in Mr. Fish's work,—a list that would have given courage to the early reformers could they have foreseen it. An unfortunate omission is that of *Harper's Weekly*,—under the able editorship of George William Curtis it must share equally with the *Nation* (p. 261) the credit of effective promotion of civil service reform.

It is to be regretted that the name of so valiant a champion of the reform movement as Mr. George McAneny should be almost unrecognizable on p. 227 and in the index, that the American Historical Association should appear as the American Historical Society (pp. 253, 265), and that a careless proof-reading (p. 254) should change the nationality of the distinguished Von Holst. The letter of Mrs. Graham to Washington (footnote, p. 80) is an interesting one, but the extract given is quite obscure without accompanying explanation,—“that sketch of a democratical government” refers to a tract addressed by Mrs. Graham to Paoli.

L. M. S.

Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs. By GARDNER W. ALLEN. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company. 1905. Pp. xiii, 354.)

MR. ALLEN's book treats of the relations of the United States with the Barbary Powers from 1794, when the United States made its first effective preparations for war, until 1816, when its last war with a Barbary state ended. Introductory to this main part of the book, are brief but excellent historical accounts of the White Slavery in the Barbary States, the Early American Captives in Barbary, and the First Negotiations of the United States with the Barbary States, covering the period from 1776 to 1793. This introduction comprises forty-eight pages. The relations between the United States and the Barbary Powers from 1794 to 1800 comprise forty-three pages; from 1801 to 1805, one hundred and eighty-one pages; and from 1806 to 1816, twenty-nine pages. Two pages of comment close the volume. It is thus seen that three-fifths of the book treats of the period from 1801 to 1805. This large space, however, is not out of proportion, since our relations with the Barbary States during Jefferson's first administration were more extensive and complicated than during any other period of our history. The chief event of the period from 1801 to 1805 treated by Mr. Allen is of course the war with Tripoli. The capture of the *Philadelphia* by the Tripolitans, its destruction by the Americans, and Eaton's capture of Derne, each a most dramatic and picturesque incident, form the subjects of separate chapters. The author's account of Commodore Preble's attack on Tripoli covers rather familiar ground. In the period of 1794-1800 Mr. Allen